

Macedonius clearly had 'rock' in mind, and fearing that *πέτρος* might be ambiguous, deliberately used *πέτρα*, for it *alone* could express his sense without equivocation.

If this is right, we can now eliminate those oaths with small stones, theories about which—at least as old as Grotius' translation 'juravi manibus capiens tria saxa'<sup>8</sup>—have so often bedevilled attempts to explain Macedonius here.<sup>9</sup> Rocks or large stones, however, were used in oaths because it was thought (i) that the solidarity of the rock passed to the swearer and so guaranteed the keeping of the oath, and (ii) that the permanency of the rock represented the constancy of the swearer. The best known example of such an oath was that at the altar (*λίθος*) in the *ἀγορά* in Athens *near* (or *at*) which (*πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ*, *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 7.1) or *on* which (*ἀναβάντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον* (sc. *τὸν λίθον*) *ὀμνύουσι*, *ibid.* 55.5) the Archons, Thesmothetae, arbitrators, and witnesses took their oaths.<sup>10</sup> There must have been local variations throughout the Greek world of this type of oath. Pausanias (viii 15.1–2) provides a good example at Pheneüs in Arcadia: *Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι . . . οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὀμνύντας ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι*. Macedonius and his contemporaries who were highly educated civil servants and lawyers thoroughly grounded in the Greek classics would certainly have known of the oath at the altar in Athens, which was so central to political life there. Indeed Plutarch, who mentions it (*Sol.* 25.3), was a writer well known at Constantinople in the reign of Justinian I<sup>11</sup> and was admired by Agathias (cf. *A.Pl.* 33.1). Yet Macedonius has hardly that specific oath in mind in our poem. The absence of a definite article with *πέτρας* suggests that he is not referring to a particular monument. Rather there arose (it would seem more likely) from the oath at Athens and from somewhat similar oaths elsewhere (e.g. that mentioned in Pausanias, *loc. cit.*) the tradition of linking the two ideas, *rock* and *swearing*, to emphasise or corroborate an oath, a tradition which would have continued after the ritual associated with it ceased to be performed.<sup>12</sup> Such a tradition must, it seems, have persisted into the Constantinople of Justinian I. The vagueness of Macedonius' phrase (without any attempt at explanation) indicates how much he took it for

granted that his readers knew exactly to what he was referring. His Greek here could be given a modern paraphrase 'I swore, on my solemn oath, never to look on that wretched girl again'.<sup>13</sup>

The remainder of the Greek poses few difficulties. The dat. *πέτρας* with *ὀμνυμι* can be translated either 'I swore to'<sup>14</sup> or 'by three rocks'. Either is grammatically correct and makes good sense.<sup>15</sup> Ultimately each means the same thing. And why *three* rocks? Because of the magical and religious associations of the number three, oaths were often repeated thrice, or in groups of three, or to three divinities etc., to guarantee their effectiveness or to stress the swearer's determination to keep his oath.<sup>16</sup> Macedonius' phrase then, 'I swore to (or by) three rocks', in which he stresses with the hyperbole<sup>17</sup> his resolution never to look at the courtesan again, is quite in accord with that tradition—one which would have been familiar to the poet from his study of the Classics.

We have suggested that by Macedonius' time the ritual of swearing to a stone had actually ceased and that the formula alone remained. However, there is no certain proof of this. But in any case we can be sure that Macedonius would never have taken the oath. His love poems, though often written with real feeling and a fine awareness of the tensions inherent in a romantic liaison, were literary exercises only, imaginative projections of the poet into fictive situations, and were not autobiographical. As a high official in Justinian's court Macedonius must have been a practising (and from the available evidence it seems probable) a *convinced* Christian.<sup>18</sup> The oath then at *A.P.* v 245.3, while it indicates in particular the mood of the poet in his reverie, also contributes to the pagan atmosphere of the poem—an atmosphere consciously cultivated by the poet in his attempt to maintain the traditional pagan ethos of the epigram.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Jacobs, *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Small stones were used in oaths as follows: (i) at Rome a sharp cutting stone (*silex*) was used to slay a pig for sacrifice (in conjunction with the oath) and was taken to represent the constancy of the god, while the act of killing symbolised the fate of the perjurer, cf. *Liv.* i 24. 6–9; 26. 45–8; this oath is related (cf. G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion* [Chicago 1970] i 179) to (ii) the ceremony, *Jovem lapidem iurare*, in which a man held a stone in his hand and as he threw it from him prayed that he might in like manner be cast out if he broke his oath, cf. *Plb.* iii 25.8–9; *Plu. Sull.* 10.4; *Paulus, epit. Fest.* 102 L s.v. 'lapidem'; *Cic. Fam.* vii 12.2; *Aul. Gell.* i 21.4; *Apul. De Deo Soc.* 5. A confusion seems to have existed in the minds of the ancients, since the stone was also taken to symbolise the constancy of Jupiter, or (by a different theory) represent his numen (cf. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* [Oxford 1957] i 351–3; Dumézil, *op. cit.* 18–32; 273–4). (iii) Herodotus (iii 8) narrates an Arabic custom of making pledges with seven stones smeared with the blood of both parties. Editors of the *Anthologia* have explained Macedonius' oath as a variant of either mode (i) or (ii) or a fusion of both: cf. nn. *ad loc.* in F. Duebner, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina* (Paris 1864–90); P. Waltz, *Anthologie Grecque* (Paris 1928–); H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* (Munich 1966–7). Yet both modes are distinctly Roman, appear not to have entered elsewhere into Greek custom, and so are less likely to have been followed by Macedonius. Also the curious Arab ritual (iii) can safely be excluded.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Demosth. liv 26; *Harp.* s.v. *λίθος*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Cambridge 1911) i 160 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1972) 146.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. Hirzel, *Der Eid* (Leipzig 1902) 212. For superstition in the late Empire cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602* (Oxford 1964) ii 957–64.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also the phrase 'the gospel truth', used when in fact no oath has been taken.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 140 n. 8; Hirzel, *op. cit.* 61.

<sup>15</sup> For the dative with *ὀμνυμι* to mean 'swear by' cf. *Paus.*, *loc. cit.*; *Aristoph. Nu.* 248 (v. LSJ s.v. *ὀμνυμι*).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hirzel, *op. cit.* 82–5; H. Usener, 'Dreiheit' in *RhM* lviii (1903) 1–47; 161–208; 321–62 (esp. 17–24); cf. also R. Lasch, *Der Eid* (Stuttgart 1908) 43; E. Harrison, *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge 1913) 97–8.

<sup>17</sup> We have parallels in the English phrases (also separated from the original ritual), 'I swore on a stack of Bibles', 'I swore by all that's holy'; cf. also e.g. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, ii 4.56 'I'll be sworn upon all the books (i.e. Bibles) in England', etc.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. J. A. Madden, 'Macedonius Consul and Christianity', *Mnemosyne* xxx (1977) 153–9.

<sup>19</sup> For the custom among poets of the *Cycle* of writing pagan-seeming epigrams cf. A. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford 1970) 107.

### New Evidence on a Lost Work by Exekias

(PLATE IV)

Until the Second World War, the antiquities collection held by the university in Leipzig included a set of four

fragments attributed to Exekias,<sup>1</sup> and long recognised by scholars as deriving from an amphora which in the subject of both obverse and reverse scenes was close to the type A amphora signed by Exekias in the Vatican Museum.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately the fragments were lost during the war; W. Herrmann has recently published them as war losses, listing all the information available on their history<sup>3</sup>—the provenience is unknown. Three of the fragments bear a clear resemblance to side A of the Vatican amphora, which shows Achilles and Ajax intent on a board game, but the Dioskouroi scene on side B was identified only on the very slender evidence of T. 391 (PLATE IV*a*), a small fragment bearing the head of a white dog.

This identification is now supported by the discovery that T. 391 joins cleanly with a hitherto unpublished fragment in Cambridge<sup>4</sup> as may be seen in PLATE IV*c*. The join is substantiated by the portion of the hand of 'Polydeukes' appearing on both fragments, by the leash held in that hand, and by the dog's paw, all of which bridge the break. This, then, gives us a 'Polydeukes' to stand perhaps at the left-hand edge of the scene, besides establishing that the dog is leaping up in just the same manner as on the Vatican amphora. The only difference is the position of the hand, and the fact that the Leipzig dog is wearing a collar and leash, while the Vatican dog (which was once equally as white, but has been more harshly treated by time) is not.

The fragment in Cambridge was presented to the Museum in 1956 by Miss Anna Bidder,<sup>5</sup> together with other pieces from her late father's collection. Although the provenience is again unknown, it was almost certainly bought early this century in the Rome market, which indicates a strong likelihood that it was found originally in Italy, perhaps at Vulci or Orvieto, where so many of Exekias' vases have been found. It is curious that Beazley, while uncertain whether the Leipzig fragments originated from a type A or B amphora, implies later that the Cambridge fragment should be considered together with Boulogne 558, a type B amphora which has aroused some controversy over its place in the Exekian chronology.<sup>6</sup>

The importance of the join between U.P. 114 and the inaccessible T. 391 lies principally in what it adds to our understanding of Exekias' choice of subject matter, though it also enhances by a little our picture of the chronology of his extant works. Since the identification of the reverse subject rests on a firmer foundation, the connection between the fragmentary amphora and Vatican 344 is more clearly established, so that we can be a little more certain that Exekias adopted the unusual

procedure of repeating, with a few minor changes, both the scenes from one amphora in his decoration of another.<sup>7</sup>

Which came first? The amphora in the Vatican is usually regarded as one of Exekias' latest works. Our fragments have much in common with the later vases, such as London B. 210, Vatican 344, Philadelphia 4873,<sup>8</sup> in, for instance, the clarity of execution (the outer incision corresponds almost exactly with the edge of the black silhouette), the consistency of the black slip (none of his latest works have the patchiness common in black figure decoration—the result of watery slip), and the presence on his later vases of a relief outline around his figures. However, it seems, so far as can be judged from such small samples, that they lack the precise and detailed decorative incision of the Vatican amphora, together with its crisp and forceful economy of composition: for example the frontal shields seem clumsy and cluttering in comparison with the Vatican profile presentation, and it is worth noting that the slender line of the latter continues the line of the outer curve of the handles on either side of the scene, uniting pot and picture in a way the Leipzig shields could not. Hence I am inclined to place these fragments together with London B. 209, just a little before Exekias achieved his greatest works.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Compare Herrmann, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *ABV* 144, 8; 145, 13 and 16.

<sup>9</sup> I acknowledge with gratitude the help afforded me in my research for this paper by Professor R. M. Cook and staff of the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge; Miss Anna Bidder; Professor E. Paul of Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig; the New Zealand University Grants Committee and the Internal Research Committee of Victoria University for their considerable financial support; and most recently Dr D. von Bothmer and Dr Joan Mertens, for making available publications and photographs which would otherwise have been inaccessible.

### The Provenience of the Cambridge Skyphos by the KX Painter

(PLATE III*d-e*)

The Attic black-figure skyphos (or perhaps rather more strictly, kotyle) of c. 580 B.C. shown here has already been published as of unknown provenience as the frontispiece of Sir Arthur W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (sides A and B) and in *CVA* Cambridge i pl. 2, 8*a-b* (side A and one of the handle zones).<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this note is to draw attention to the extremely interesting provenience now established for it. At the same time, the opportunity has been taken to publish views of the side and handle zone not illustrated in the *CVA* and to add a few further comments on the condition of the vase, since such considerations have proved vital to its identification.

<sup>1</sup> Other bibliography: *JHS* xlvii (1927) 148; A. Greifenhagen, *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im 6. Jahrhundert* (Diss. Königsberg 1928) 12 no. 22; *NC* 196 no. 27; *Hesperia* xiii (1944) 46 no. 1; *ABV* 26 no. 24 (where closely related to Athens 528, for which see *Hesperia* xiii 45 no. 14, pl. 5.2; Beazley, *Development* 20, pl. 7.3; J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, F. Villard, *Archaic Greek Art* [English version, 1971] 56, fig. 57). For recent bibliography on the Komast Group see W. Hornbostel in *Münch. Jb* xxvi (1975) 37–64.

<sup>1</sup> T. 355 a-c, attributed by F. Hauser, *JdI* (1896) 178; T. 391, attributed by J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure, a Sketch* (Proc. Brit. Acad. xiv 29, 9. All four were published together by W. Technau, *Exekias, Bilder griechischer Vasen*, IX (Leipzig 1936) pl. 19c-f.

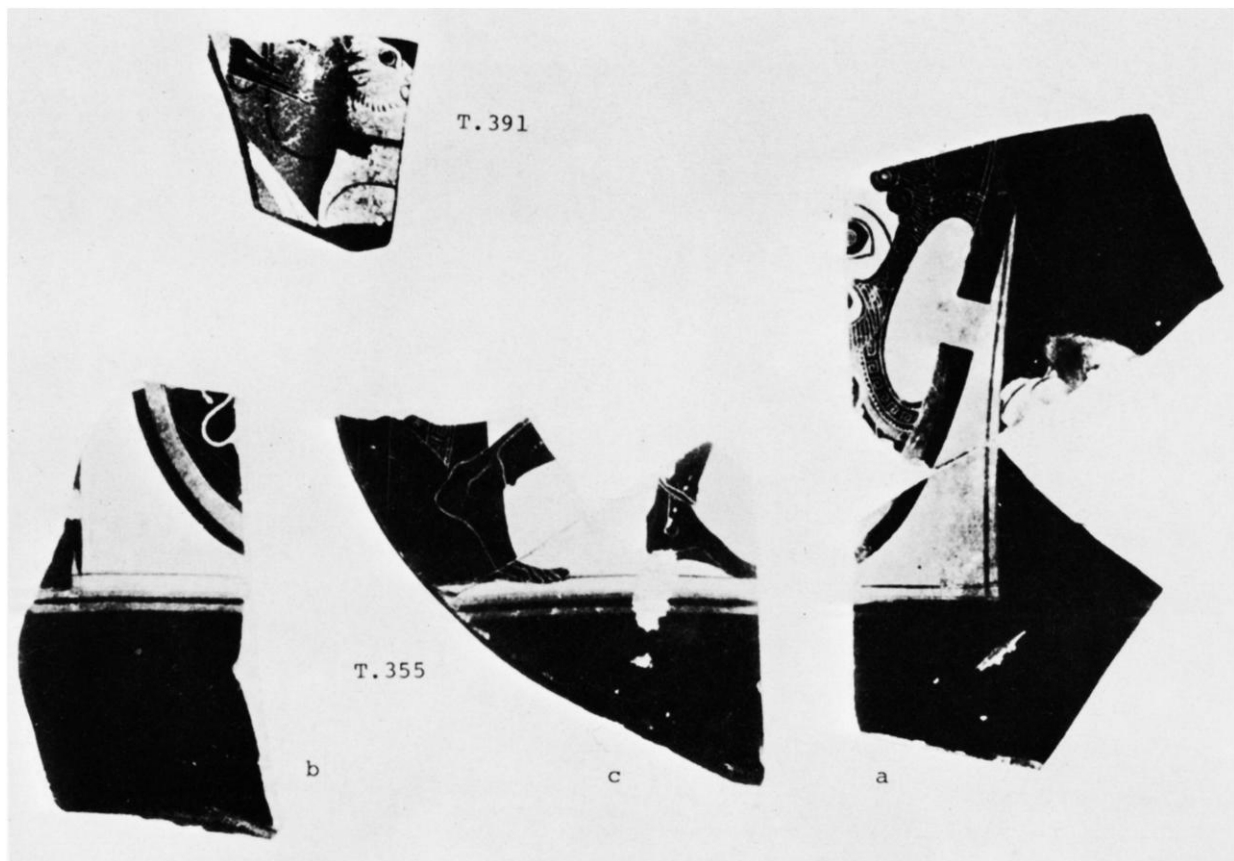
<sup>2</sup> Vatican 344: J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956)—hereafter *ABV*—145, 13. Whether the Leipzig fragments originate from a type A or B amphora is uncertain: *ABV* 145, 15.

<sup>3</sup> W. Herrmann, *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Univ. Rostock*, 16 Jahrgang (1967) 456, pls. 30, 2; 31, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Museum of Classical Archaeology, U.P. 144, attributed by Beazley, *ABV* 714.

<sup>5</sup> To whom I am indebted for my information on the history of the fragment.

<sup>6</sup> Boulogne: *ABV* 145, 18. Cambridge: J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 60. Technau (*op. cit.* 14) considers that the Boulogne amphora is late because it has one solo figure on the obverse; Mary B. Moore (*AJA* lxxii [1968] 360) places it among the earliest works on the grounds that the horses on the reverse resemble the horses of Group E more closely than do other horses by Exekias. But compare H. Bloesch, *Wandlungen*, in *Ernest Homann-Wedeking Festschrift* (1975) 88.



(a) Leipzig fragments of an amphora by Exekias, T.353a-c and T.391 (Courtesy, Antikenmuseum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig [lost]).



(b) Cambridge fragment of an amphora by Exekias, U.P.114 (Courtesy, Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.)



(c) Cambridge U.P.114 and Leipzig T.391 joined.